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THE JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL IN THE CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT INDUSTRY OF NEW YORK CITY

By HENRY MOSKOWITZ, PH.D.
Secretary.

The sanitary control of industry is usually associated either with governmental regulations embodied in statutes passed by legislators and enforced by administrative departments organized and manned by public officials; or it may become the concern of enlightened employers who invest capital in modern means of ventilation, safety, and sanitation, and employ welfare workers to carry out a policy of enlightened self-interest. Such welfare work is chiefly the interest of the employer and becomes at best an expression of industrial benevolence or paternalism. Even where the employer endeavors to secure the cooperation of the workers, he frequently fails because they are suspicious of any welfare work which is not democratically supported and controlled.

The cloak and suit industry in New York City is one of the most important of the garment working trades. It is said to have an output of about two hundred and fifty million dollars a year, and a working population of from sixty to seventy thousand during the busy seasons.

The sanitary conditions of this industry have been typical of the garment working trades; but in recent years many of the cloak manufacturing establishments moved into large modern loft buildings which have multiplied in the upper section of the city of New York, bounded by Fourteenth street to Twenty-seventh street in the northerly direction, and Broadway to Seventh avenue in the westerly direction. This industry has been gradually progressing with respect to output and business organization so that at the present time the most prosperous of these establishments are housed in modern loft buildings. For a long time the vast majority of these factories were located in unsanitary places where the workers were congested in unventilated shops with poor lighting facilities, inadequate fire protection, and unsanitary arrangements.

While the sweat-shop is being eliminated as a type, the largest number of establishments are still located in unmodern buildings. In the smaller shops on the lower East Side the sanitary arrangements for the workers require considerable attention before they can be regarded as up to the standard. Little consideration has been given to sanitation by the vast majority of the manufacturers in this industry. For this reason one of the grievances in the general strike of 1910 was a demand for clean and sanitary shops.

The general strike of 1910 came like an eruption as a result of grievances which were smouldering and which required accumulation to burst into flame. After nine weeks of struggle the strike terminated in a protocol of peace which marked an interesting constructive experiment in collective effort on the part of the employers and the union to solve some of the difficult labor problems of the industry. It is not germane to the subject of this article to enter into a discussion of the details of the controversy causing the general strike of 1910. To throw light on the central problem of the sanitary control of this industry, cognizance must be taken of the peculiar characteristics of the cloakmaking industry respecting its working personnel, the social conditions surrounding the workers, the nature of the competition among the employers, and the effect of the yearly influx of immigration which makes its annual contribution of new recruits to the industry and necessarily complicates the problem of union organization.

Cloak making is essentially an immigrant industry, and, like most immigrant institutions, it is constantly fluctuating in its working population, its employing class, and even in its labor leadership. This is not difficult to explain, for the new immigrant cannot strike his roots deep into the new land. His movements, therefore, lack stability. Besides, the large mass of Jewish cloak makers look forward to emerging out of the working class. Many of the employers have been recruited from the workers. They become small contractors and manufacturers by starting a factory with a little capital. It has not been difficult in this industry to make a start in this way. The small man in the industry has always been in the position of the despised minority in a three-cornered fight. His assistance is sought by one of the two chief contending parties to bring the other to terms. The union uses the small manufacturer during a strike to keep a number of the workers employed, and by

the strike assessments add to the munitions of war against the more substantial employers. They have served as a club swung over the heads of the big men in the industry to force them into submission. The strike offers a rich harvest to the little men who snatch the opportunity to sign the union agreement, and by keeping the men working during the strike, supply the eager demands of the retailers inconvenienced by the cessation of work in the large factories.

When the dull season arrives, these small manufacturers have not hesitated to violate the agreement, and withdraw the concessions wrested from them by the union in the busy season, when their need for labor was great. If the small manufacturer is the tool of the union in times of war, he serves the large employers in times of peace; many of whom have had their goods manufactured by contractors and sub-manufacturers under conditions and for prices in violation of the union agreement. The practice has often been forced upon the employer in self-defense, to meet the unequal conditions of competition created by the existence of the two classes of employers. Equal conditions of competition have been the crying need of the substantial manufacturers in the cloak and suit industry, and uniformity in the terms of labor, the fundamental demand of the union; but labor's demand for uniformity can be fully met only by answering the substantial employers' need for equal conditions of competition. The obstacle to the realization of these demands and hence to permanent progress in the industry is, therefore, this large class of small manufacturers who have created and still create in the industry a house divided against itself. It seemed to the enlightened leaders that organization on both sides would answer the needs of the employers for equal conditions of competition, and of the union for uniformity in the terms of labor. The preferential union shop suggested by Louis D. Brandeis presupposes two strong organizations of workers and of employers negotiating with the machinery of adjustment, which tends to approximate the conditions they so devoutly wished for.

Without discussing the theory of the preferential union shop, it is important to make clear that the chief motive of the responsible employers of labor for the open recognition of the union which this plan implies, has been the hope that through a strong organization of labor exercising pressure upon every manufacturer in the industry, equal conditions of competition will be created. The union leaders,

on the other hand, hoped through negotiating with an organization of the larger and more responsible employers, to force the small man into maintaining the terms of the union agreement. Many of these small men would be driven out of the industry if they could not violate the terms of the union agreement.

One of the methods of equalizing competition was the Board of Sanitary Control, suggested by a representative of the Employers' Association. The more substantial employers were eager to accept this method of collective effort by both organizations to establish sanitary conditions in the industry; for it is not only industrial decency—it is good business.

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control was created in article xv of the protocol, which reads: "The parties hereby establish a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, to consist of seven members, composed of two nominees of the manufacturers, two nominees of the unions, and three who are to represent the public; the latter to be named by Meyer London, Esq., Julius Henry Cohen, Esq., and Louis Marshall, Esq.

"Said board is to establish standards of sanitary conditions to which the manufacturers and unions shall be committed, and the manufacturers and the unions obligate themselves to maintain them to the best of their ability and to the full extent of their power."

This provision of the protocol of peace established a democratic method of sanitary control and lodged a joint responsibility in employers and workers to create and maintain decent sanitary conditions in the shops of the industry. It also gave the Joint Board of Sanitary Control the power not alone of establishing standards, but of enforcing them through the agencies of the association and the unions who control the shops outside of the association, as it must be borne in mind that the members of the Cloak and Suit Protective Association, the party to this collective agreement, consist of the minority of the manufacturers in the industry, although they control sixty per cent of the output.

Very soon after the signing of this protocol, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was organized with the following personnel: Messrs. Max Meyer and S. L. Silver, representing the Manufacturers' Protective Association; Mr. Benjamin Schlessinger and Dr. George M. Price, representing the unions; and Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, Miss Lillian D. Wald and Dr. Henry Moskowitz, representing the

public. Messrs. Meyer London and Julius Henry Cohen represent their respective clients, the unions and the Manufacturers' Protective Association. Since the organization of the board, Mr. Schlessinger has been supplanted by Mr. Abram Bisno, representing the unions, and Mr. S. L. Silver by Mr. E. J. Wile, representing the employers. The board organized with Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, chairman, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, secretary, and Miss Lillian D. Wald, treasurer.

The first duty before the board was to ascertain the sanitary conditions in the industry and upon the basis of this knowledge, to formulate standards. A preliminary investigation was organized. The expense entailed was borne equally by both sides. The establishment of schedules and the formulation of a card system was accomplished with the cooperation of well-known sanitarians and statisticians, like Professor C. E. A. Winslow, of the College of the City of New York; Mr. Frederick Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company; Dr. C. T. Graham Rogers, Medical Factory Inspector of the New York State Labor Department; Mr. E. L. Elliot, editor of the *Illuminating Engineer*, and Dr. H. D. Pease of the Lederle Laboratories.

The entire investigation was under the supervision of Dr. George M. Price. The following card schedule was finally adopted after a number of semi-annual inspections had been made:

JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL.

Record Card No. Copy Certificate No.
 Street ——— No. 61 Fl. 2 Boro. M. Firm ——— & ———.
 Member of Contractor for Address

1	Building converted	20	Halls Light Yes	Inspection	Date	Male	Female
2	Stories Fr. 2 & Attic	21	Dress-Rooms no	1 174	1, 12, 11	1	1
3	Fire-Escapes 1	22	Sinks 1 Basins	2 619	8, 8, 11	7	5
4	Location Front	23	Windows No. 5	3 T.	2, 9, 12	6	2
5	Drop Ladders no	24	Shop Height 9½'	4	.....	.....	.....
6	Exits Clear no	25	Width 19' 8" Length 32' 6"	5	.....	.....	.....
7	Other Exits Yes	26	Mech. Ventil. no	6	.....	.....	.....
8	Fire Buckets no	27	Artif. Light Day no	7	.....	.....	.....
9	Extinguishers no	28	Gas	8	.....	.....	.....
10	Fire Hose no	29	Prot. Glare no	9	.....	.....	.....
11	Sprinklers	30	Power Foot	10	.....	.....	.....
12	Drill no Card Yes	31	Heat Steam	11	.....	.....	.....
13	Elevators no	32	Irons Heated by Gas	12	.....	.....	.....
14	Hoistways no	33	W. C. Male 1	District	.....	.....	.....
15	Doors in Locked no	34	W. C. Female 1	Defect Card	.....	.....	.....
16	Halls-Width 6	35	Material Floor cement	See defect card & report forwarded			
17	Stairs No. 1 Width 8'	36	Location hall & yard	Reference	.....	.....	.....
18	Material wood	37	Separation Yes	Shop Committee	.....	.....	.....
19	Treads Fair Rails Bad	38	Recep. Rubbish no				

As a result, these standards were established:

SANITARY STANDARDS

1. No shop to be allowed in a cellar.
2. No shop to be allowed in rear houses or attic floors without special permission of the board.
3. Shops located in buildings two stories or more in height must have one or more fire-escapes.
4. All fire-escapes to be provided with ladders to the roof of same house or to an adjoining house; also with full length drop ladders properly located and adjusted.
5. In all shops which are not provided with automatic sprinklers, there should be kept a sufficient number of chemical extinguishers, or a sufficient number of fire buckets, properly located and filled.
6. Special caretakers to be appointed in each shop for the care of the fire buckets, and for their use in case of fire.
7. All openings and exits to fire-escapes to be left unobstructed by tables, machines, boxes, partitions, and iron bars.
8. No doors to be locked during working hours.
9. No smoking to be permitted in workshop.
10. Conspicuous signs to be placed throughout the shop, marking location and direction of exits and fire-escapes.
11. Fire-proof receptacles, lined with tin, and having a tin cover, to be provided, in sufficient numbers, for rubbish.
12. Halls and stairways leading from shops to be adequately lighted by natural or artificial light.
13. Stairs to be provided with secure handrails and safe treads.
14. Sufficient window space to be provided for each shop, so that all parts of the shop be well lighted during the hours from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M.
15. Where gas illumination is used, arc lights or incandescent mantles should be used.
16. All lights to be well shaded, to be placed above operatives, and not too near them.
17. At least 400 cubic feet of space, exclusive of bulky furniture and materials, should be provided for every person within the shop.
18. The shop should be thoroughly aired before and after work hours, and during lunch hour, by opening windows and doors.
19. No coal should be used for direct heating of irons, and whenever stoves are used for heating shops, they should be surrounded by metal sheet at least five feet high.
20. Walls and ceilings of shops and water-closet apartments should be cleaned as often as necessary, and kept clean.
21. Floors of shops, and of water-closet apartments, to be scrubbed weekly, swept daily, and kept free of refuse.
22. A separate water-closet apartment shall be provided for each sex, with solid partitions to extend from floor to ceiling, and with separate vestibules and doors.

23. Water-closets to be adequately flushed and kept clean.
24. A special caretaker to be designated by the employer to the care of the shop and water-closet apartments.
25. A sufficient number of water-supplied wash-basins to be provided in convenient and light locations within the shop.
26. Suitable hangers should be provided for the street clothes of the employees, and separate dressing-rooms to be provided wherever women are working.
27. Water-closet apartments, dressing-rooms, wash-rooms, and lunch-rooms to be properly lighted, illuminated, ventilated, cleaned, and kept clean.
28. All seats to have backs.

After the passage of the laws of 1912 recommended by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, appointed by Governor Dix, the following new standards were added:

29. All waste materials, cuttings and rubbish must be removed twice a day from the floor of the shop and once a day from the building.
30. In all shops where more than twenty-five persons are employed above the ground or first floor, a fire drill of the occupants of such building shall be conducted at least once in every three months.
31. In every factory building over seven stories or over ninety feet in height in which wooden flooring or wooden trim is used and more than two hundred people are regularly employed above the seventh floor or more than ninety feet above the ground level of such building, the owner of the building shall install an automatic sprinkler system approved as to form and manner in the city of New York by the fire commissioner of such city, and elsewhere by the state fire marshal. Such installation shall be made within one year after this section takes effect.

With the establishment of the standards the board faced the problem of effectively enforcing them. For this purpose a permanent organization was necessary. The budget amounting to seven thousand dollars a year is borne equally by both sides. The permanent organization included a carefully prepared schedule card for each shop, a corps of inspectors who made semi-annual inspections, and a system of registering and following up complaints.

Wherever defects in sanitary conditions were found which violated the laws, complaints were sent to the department concerned with their enforcement, such as the municipal building department, the department of health, the bureau of fire prevention and the State Bureau of Labor.

The following definite procedure was established to enforce the standards of the board:

(a) After the first inspection a notice is sent to the owner.

(b) After the second inspection the inspector has a personal interview with the owner, explaining the exact defects and how to remedy them.

(c) If there is no compliance as a result of these efforts, the shop belonging to the association is reported to that body, with a request that the orders of the board be complied with by the owner. In the case of shops outside the association, the matter is referred to the union for similar action.

The board has experienced no difficulty in securing the cooperation of both bodies. The Manufacturers' Association has gone the limit to cooperate with the board, even where its orders necessitated important structural changes in the shops, involving considerable expense either on the part of the manufacturer or the owner. It was discovered by the board that thirty-eight shops in the association required such change. Counsel for the association helped to secure these changes in thirty of the shops. The remaining eight have not yet complied, but it is hoped that the association will soon report the changes in all the shops indicated by the board.

The union has not hesitated to take equally strong measures. In the case of establishments not under the control of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, where an inspector, after an investigation reported a shop unfit for working purposes, it is re-inspected by the chief inspector and a report is submitted to the general board for its final decision; if it is then declared unfit for working purposes, the owner is requested to remove to other premises. If he does not comply, the union is instructed by the board to withdraw the men. This is a sanitary strike. Twenty-seven such strikes, involving 350 people, took place during the first year of the board's existence. The average duration of each strike was a fraction over a week. This measure is taken only when all others have been exhausted. Some of the sanitary plague spots of the industry have been destroyed through the sanitary strike.

The system of reward established by the board consists in granting a sanitary certificate to the manufacturer or owner of the shops where all the sanitary standards of the board have been complied with. It becomes a source of pride for the manufacturer to display his certificate in a frame, supplied by the board, in a conspicuous place in the factory. The certificate reads as follows:

No.....

SANITARY CERTIFICATE

OF THE

JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL

IN THE

CLOAK, SUIT & SKIRT INDUSTRY OF NEW YORK

(Under the Protocol of September 2, 1910)

This is to certify that the shop of.....Located at
.....Floor.....Borough of.....has been in-
spected and found to conform with the

SANITARY STANDARDS OF THIS BOARD

[SEAL] This certificate is good only for six months
from date of issue and is revocable by the
Board for cause.

It is countersigned by the secretary and by the chairman of the executive committee. It is granted for six months only, and is revocable at the pleasure of the board for violation of its sanitary standards.

The sanitary certificate controls the place, but not the garment. One of the complicating elements in the problem is the fact that the large manufacturers employ sub-contractors whose shops are below standard. The goods which he ships from his factory on Broadway are not necessarily made on the premises. There is a leakage therefore in the control of the cloaks made even by the large manufacturers. Recently the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association agreed to compel the contractors employed by the members of the association to put their shops in a sanitary condition so as to make them eligible for the certificate. A large number of the contractors have received sanitary certificates. Doubtless shops of a considerable number of contractors are below standard. Under the circumstances the control of the premises and not the garment makes for such leakages, and represents concretely the difficulties arising from the existence of the two classes of manufacturers referred to.

In the face of this difficulty, the progress made in the sanitary improvement of the industry by the board during the short period of its existence is considerable. We shall record it in the following comparative tabulation of the results of the first, second, and third

COMPARATIVE TABULATION BY DISTRICTS

	District One. Delancey.		District Two. Tenth.		District Three. Nineteenth.		District Four. Harlem.		District Five. Brooklyn.		Total Five Districts. Third Inspection.		Second Inspection. August, 1911.		First Inspection. February, 1911.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.		No.	
Shops investigated.....	700	100.00	518	100.00	428	100.00	41	100.00	197	100.00	1884	100.00	1738		1243	
Buildings investigated.....	409	58.30	302	58.30	197	46.03	36	88.29	137	69.04	1081	57.43	1081		1081	
Establishments investigated.....	651	93.15	491	94.79	368	86.00	39	95.12	176	89.34	1725	91.59	1725		1725	
Persons found working.....	9544	100.00	14187	100.00	22806	100.00	692	100.00	3097	100.00	50326	100.00	45199		36941	
Men.....	7582	80.00	10867	77.00	17692	78.00	338	48.00	2112	68.00	38591	77.00	35091		29570	
Women.....	1962	20.00	3320	23.00	5114	22.00	354	52.00	985	32.00	11735	23.00	10108		7371	
Shops in loft buildings.....	492	70.00	426	82.20	421	98.70	24	58.00	117	60.00	1480	78.00	1414		1076	
Persons in loft buildings.....	871	85.60	13084	92.22	22730	99.70	596	86.00	2518	81.30	47099	93.60	47099		47099	
Shops in converted buildings.....	96	14.00	89	17.20	7	0.30	12	29.00	69	35.00	273	15.00	169		124	
Persons in converted buildings.....	896	9.40	1095	7.71	76	0.30	70	10.00	508	16.40	2645	5.30	2645		2645	
Shops in cellars.....	16	2.00	1	0.20	1	0.20	1	3.00	5	2.00	23	1.00	21		21	
Persons in cellars.....	69	0.70	5	0.04	1	0.04	7	1.00	26	0.90	107	0.20	107		107	
Shops in stores.....	96	14.00	2	0.40	1	0.20	4	10.00	6	3.00	108	6.00	134		134	
Persons in stores.....	408	4.30	3	0.03	1	0.03	19	3.00	45	1.40	475	0.90	475		475	
Shops in rear buildings.....	13	2.00	1	0.20	1	0.20	1	3.00	1	0.50	13	0.70	49		49	
Persons in rear buildings.....	158	2.00	1	0.20	1	0.20	1	3.00	1	0.50	158	0.30	158		158	
Shops on attic floor.....	2	0.30	3	0.05	1	0.05	1	3.00	4	2.00	5	0.20	5		5	
Persons on attic floor.....	11	1.0	10	2.0	56	13.00	1	3.00	4	2.00	43	0.09	43		43	
Shops on 6th floor.....	67	9.00	60	11.00	56	13.00	1	3.00	4	2.00	188	10.00	183		183	
Persons on 6th floor.....	1431	15.00	1692	12.00	2995	10.00	34	83.00	176	5.00	6328	12.00	5316		5316	
Shops on 7th floor.....	26	4.00	41	8.00	53	12.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	120	6.00	121		121	
Persons on 7th floor.....	422	4.00	1378	9.00	2879	12.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	4670	9.00	4304		4304	
Shops on 8th floor.....	5	0.70	27	4.00	52	12.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	84	4.00	114		114	
Persons on 8th floor.....	138	1.00	1085	7.00	2515	11.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	3738	7.00	3397		3397	
Shops on 9th floor.....	2	0.30	15	3.00	44	10.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	61	3.00	111		111	
Persons on 9th floor.....	42	1.40	1001	7.00	2077	9.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	3120	6.00	3285		3285	
Shops on 10th floor.....	1	0.10	19	3.00	35	8.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	54	2.00	52		52	
Persons on 10th floor.....	1	0.10	571	3.00	2716	12.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	3287	6.00	2531		2531	
Shops on 11th floor.....	1	0.10	16	3.00	42	10.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	58	2.00	43		43	
Persons on 11th floor.....	1	0.10	901	6.00	2374	10.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	3275	6.00	3015		3015	
Shops on 12th floor.....	1	0.10	21	4.00	30	7.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	51	2.00	32		32	
Persons on 12th floor.....	1	0.10	554	4.00	2255	9.00	1	3.00	1	0.50	2809	5.00	1984		1984	
Shops on 13th floor.....	1	0.10	3	0.70	3	0.70	1	3.00	1	0.50	316	0.10	3		3	
Persons on 13th floor.....	1	0.10	316	0.70	316	0.70	1	3.00	1	0.50	316	0.10	3		3	
Shops on 14th floor.....	1	0.10	1	0.20	1	0.20	1	3.00	1	0.50	1	0.05	1		1	
Persons on 14th floor.....	1	0.10	1	0.20	1	0.20	1	3.00	1	0.50	1	0.05	1		1	
Shops on 15th floor.....	1	0.10	90	0.40	90	0.40	1	3.00	1	0.50	90	0.10	90		90	
Persons on 15th floor.....	1	0.10	90	0.40	90	0.40	1	3.00	1	0.50	90	0.10	90		90	

inspections made in February, 1911, August, 1911, and February, 1912, respectively. The tabulation given on pages 48 and 49 covers the entire industry divided into five districts by the union, for the purposes of its control.

Very illuminating is the table showing the number of workers employed on the sixth story and above. Fifty-five per cent of all the workers in the trade are located on the sixth story and above. Of the 1,480 shops located in loft buildings there are 622 shops above the sixth floor, with a total of 37,813 employees, found in February, 1912, the month of the last inspection in the height of the season. This represents a very serious problem of fire protection. With inadequate exit facilities in case of fire, many of these loft buildings are death-traps though built of fire-proof material, as experience with the Asch Building, in which one hundred and forty-three girls lost their lives, has clearly demonstrated. Unfortunately these loft buildings are not adapted to the particular industries housed in them, so that many of these loft buildings often contain from two to three thousand workers in factories divided by inflammable wooden partitions. The majority have but two passenger elevators running; two stairways, and no fire walls providing for a horizontal exit. These buildings have been called death-traps by Fire Chief Croker and other experts in fire extinction and prevention.

The congestion of population in factories is one of the most serious fire problems affecting the safety of the workers in New York City. The high land values in Manhattan, the lack of transit facilities, the desirability of locating factories near the homes of the workers, explain the congestion of population in the factories. Under the circumstances it has been very difficult for the architects to provide sufficient exit facilities without taking away valuable space for occupancy.

The Asch fire has aroused the conscience of the community and steps, it is hoped, will be taken to provide adequate safety facilities. But no fundamental solution is possible without reducing the height of factory buildings. With the development of transit and the reduction by law of the height of buildings, it will be possible to provide adequate safety facilities for the workers. Under the circumstances the Board of Sanitary Control made considerable progress in establishing conditions of safety from the hazards of fire for the workers in the cloak factories.

After the first inspection the board discovered that 14 shops, out of 1,243, were in buildings without fire-escapes; that 114 shops had fire-escapes with no drop ladders; that many of the drop ladders were improperly placed and proved worse than useless, for they are heavy and difficult to adjust when the workers need them most; and that 78 factories had their exits to fire-escapes obstructed.

Using the most important items in the matter of fire protection, the following table will indicate the progress made by the board from the first inspection in February, 1911, up to July, 1912:

FIRE PROTECTION

	Feb., 1911. 1,243 shops.		Aug., 1911. 1,738 shops.		Feb., 1912. 1,884 shops.		July, 1912. 1,884 shops.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
No fire-escapes.....	14	1.17	63	3.62	41	2.17	37	1.96
Insufficient fire-escapes.....					51	2.70	12	0.63
No drop ladders.....	114	9.17	236	13.52	38	2.01	26	1.38
Drop ladders improperly placed.....					36	1.91	25	1.32
Exits to fire-escapes obstructed.....	78	6.27	153	8.80	151	8.01	49	2.61
Exits from bottom of fire-escapes inadequate.....					159	8.43	30	1.59
Aisles too narrow.....					18	0.95	15	0.79
No fire buckets.....			375	21.57	396	21.01	175	9.28
Insufficient number of fire buckets.....					88	4.67	38	2.01
Empty fire buckets.....					147	7.80	50	2.65

Most gratifying is the progress made in fire protection by the Board of Sanitary Control in the East Side District, where the unsanitary shops are chiefly located, as the table on page 52 will indicate.

With respect to light and illumination, the investigation showed equally faulty conditions after the first inspection, and progress after the last inspection in February, 1912, though considerable improvement must still be made in this pioneer field of health protection for the workers. After the first inspection in February, 1911, 373 shops out of 1,243 were found using artificial light, and 1,037 made no provision to protect the eyes of the workers from glare; 60.65 per cent of the shops were found using illuminating gas, 25 per cent both gas and electricity, and 14 per cent used electricity exclusively. The 1911 inspection showed 1,086 shops out of 1,738 using gas, 257 using gas and electricity, and 382 using electricity alone. The use of gas as such does not indicate defective illumina-

FIRE PROTECTION ON EAST SIDE—700 SHOPS

	Feb., 1912.		July, 1912.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
No fire-escapes.....	6	0.85	2	0.28
Insufficient fire-escapes.....	20	2.85	9	1.28
Fire-escapes with straight ladders.....	37	5.28	16	2.28
No drop ladders.....	19	2.71	10	1.42
Drop ladders too short.....	5	0.71	4	0.57
Drop ladders improperly placed.....	28	4.00	5	0.71
Exits to fire-escapes obstructed.....	81	11.57	7	1.00
Exits from bottom of fire-escapes inadequate.....	82	11.71	15	2.14
Aisles too narrow.....	3	0.42	1	0.14
No fire buckets.....	234	33.42	63	9.00
Insufficient number of fire buckets.....	44	6.28	4	0.57
Empty fire buckets.....	84	12.00	6	0.85

tion. It depends entirely upon the nature of the light, its location and the provision made for protection from glare.

In only 17 per cent of the shops inspected in February, 1911, was any attempt made to protect the operators from glare by suitable shades and globes. Some sort of shade was found in 466 of the 1,738 shops inspected in August, 1911, but few of these answered the purpose of protecting the eyes of the operatives from glare; in fact, powerful reflectors were placed on a 60 to 100 watt Tungsten lamp, producing an intense light very injurious to the eyes of the workers.

The inspection showed beyond a doubt that no attention has been given in the past by the employers to the adequate and proper lighting of their shops, with a view to preserving the eyes and promoting the health of the operatives.

The following table will indicate some progress made by the board in providing adequate illumination in the shops:

LIGHT AND ILLUMINATION

	Feb., 1911. 1,243 shops.		Aug., 1911. 1,738 shops.		Feb., 1912. 1,884 shops.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Shops using artificial light.....	373	30.00	294	16.91	276	14.65
No protection from glare.....	1037	82.62	1272	73.13	975	51.22
Gas lights too near.....					125	6.63

Bad ventilation and overcrowding are common defects in the cloak-making industry, chiefly because it is a seasonal trade, and during the busy season of thirty weeks the shops are overcrowded with workers. The employer in leasing his shop does not generally calculate his space according to the needs of the busy season, so that during the height of the season the shops are taxed to the maximum capacity. The machines are placed in solid rows with little or no breathing space for the workers, who work not only by day, but sometimes at night. Since the bulk of the industry was at first conducted by employers of small means, their shops were not adequate. Such employers naturally economized both in the space they leased for the shops and in the sanitary arrangements necessary for the health of the workers. With the exodus to the modern loft buildings this condition has changed. The largest proportion of the trade is in the hands of the big firms who assume a policy of enlightened self-interest with respect to sanitation. It does not pay them to economize on sanitary conditions.

In the smaller houses, through the efforts of the rank and file of the labor organizations in the industry, conditions have been improved.

Though the investigation disclosed little violation of the law providing 250 cubic feet of space per individual, our inspectors' reports make it clear that this legal space is ridiculously inadequate. Overcrowded shops with very little free available space, upon measurement show the necessary 250 cubic feet. It is evident that with the ceilings 10 feet high, a 250 cubic feet give but 25 square feet of floor space, obviously a very small area. If we add to this the fact that no deduction is made for space occupied by machinery, persons, and by bulky material, the free space left under the legal 250 cubic feet standard is still further reduced. Though the purity of the air in the shop does not depend primarily upon the amount of cubic space available for each person, but rather upon the amount of air entering the shop, the inadequate space provided the operative makes special ventilating devices doubly necessary. Very little attempt was made to improve the ventilation in the factories through the use of such devices. The only means of ventilation used in the majority of the shops were ordinary windows, so that very few shops were found where the ventilation was good or even adequate.

The board engaged Dr. C. T. Graham Rogers, Medical Factory Inspector of the State Bureau of Labor, to make an intensive study

of the ventilation in the cloak shops. This study was published in its first annual report. Dr. Rogers states that his investigation clearly determined that the atmospheric conditions found in the majority of the shops are injurious to health and should be remedied. Much of the ill-health among the cloakmakers is undoubtedly due to the defective ventilation, to the foul air, and the stooping posture of the workers. To this cause in large measure the well-known tendency of the garment workers to respiratory diseases, especially tuberculosis, can be traced. Unfortunately very little progress has been made, even by the experts on ventilation, to give enlightened employers and labor leaders a definite standard of effective ventilation and definite methods of securing it.

The board realized that the sanitary conditions of the factories needed considerable improvement. The walls, ceilings, floors, and windows were found dirty in many of the shops; no adequate provision was made for the disposal of garbage; very few cuspidors were provided; and the separation of the toilet accommodations for the men and women was inadequate. In a large number of shops toilet accommodations were not provided in proportion to the number of workers, fixtures were found dirty, and the legal limit of one toilet for every twenty-five workers was exceeded in many of the shops; in some of them the ratio of one to eighty was found by our inspectors. The ventilation and lighting of water-closet apartments were bad.

The following table will indicate the progress made with respect to sanitary care:

SANITARY CARE

	Feb., 1911. 1,243 shops.		Aug., 1911. 1,738 shops.		Feb., 1912. 1,884 shops.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Walls of shop dirty.....	144	11.58	147	8.11	123	6.52
Floors of shop dirty.....	200	11.50	200	11.50	568	30.14
Windows of shop dirty.....	221	12.71	221	12.71	407	21.60
Shops having insufficient or no water-closets	243	19.54	302	17.37	101	5.36
Shops having water-closets with improper separation.....	110	8.84	106	6.09	57	3.02
Dark water-closet apartment.....	188	10.81	188	10.81	103	5.46
Unventilated water-closet apartment.....	118	6.78	118	6.78	13	0.68
Flush out of order.....	127	10.21	85	4.89	162	8.59
Water-closet in yard.....	12	0.96	44	2.55	55	2.92
Water-closet in hall.....	111	8.93	240	13.82	322	17.63
Water-closet in cellar.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	0.95

In addition to investigation and enforcement, one of the most important functions of the board is the education of the employers and the workers on the need of sanitary improvements in the industry and their obligation to maintain them. The board realized at the very outset that only by a campaign of education can public opinion favorable to sanitary improvement be awakened. Without such awakening and the resulting cooperation on the part of the workers and their employers, the sanitary standards become dead-letters and the work of the board is reduced to the dead level of a bureaucracy. Democratic regulation of sanitary conditions in an industry averts the serious danger arising from a mere mechanical regulation, a charge frequently made by the workers against the efforts of the state to enforce labor laws and to regulate the conditions of labor in industry.

The board has carried on its propaganda through lectures, bulletins, shop meetings, mass meetings, articles in daily and weekly papers, read by the workers and their employers. Recently the Joint Board of Sanitary Control cooperated with the Board of Education in a series of lectures on the problems of factory legislation, cooperation, regulation and sanitation. The lectures were held in the auditorium of one of the largest school buildings located in the neighborhood where the vast number of cloak-makers reside.

The board has tried an interesting experiment in eliciting the cooperation of the workers by organizing sanitary shop committees in a number of the factories. These committees usually consist of three workers, one of whom is frequently the shop chairman. It is their function to lodge any complaint with the board for violation of the sanitary standards in the shop and to urge their fellow workers to help maintain the sanitary standards. There are at present 336 of such sanitary shop committees. Representatives of the board have frequently spoken at shop meetings and at the gatherings of the locals. The processes of education are slow, but the board has made a good beginning. It takes a long time to convince the workers of the importance of sanitary conditions in the factory. They are naturally more sensitive to the need of higher wages and shorter hours of work.

Recently the board has undertaken a physical examination of the workers for the purpose of determining the presence of an occupational disease. It has secured the cooperation of medical experts,

both as advisers and inspectors. The results of this examination will be a feature of the next annual report. They cannot be anticipated. The mere fact that eight hundred (800) workers have been eager to subject themselves to a physical examination reveals the possibilities of this democratic method of sanitary control in an industry. The workers were eager to help because they realized that the board was their agency, and they manifested not the slightest suspicion toward the board or its representatives whenever their cooperation was asked.

In conclusion we desire to quote an editorial published in a recent bulletin of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, entitled, "A Year and a Half of the Joint Board":

A YEAR AND A HALF OF THE JOINT BOARD

The protocol, as a method of collective effort in industry, has made good in the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. If there are any doubters, we would respectfully direct their attention to the record of our third semi-annual reinspection, which we publish with this bulletin.

These facts stand out with compelling force:

1. The board now has a sanitary survey of 1,884 shops compared with 1,738 in the second inspection and 1,243 in the first. This indicates marked progress in the gathering of *facts* of the industry with respect to unsanitary conditions.

2. The number of shops with no drop ladders has been reduced from 236 to 38, or from 13 per cent to 2 per cent.

The doors opening in are still with us, but their number has been reduced from 97 per cent in the first inspection to 79 per cent in the second inspection and to 48 per cent in the last.

For other improvements in fire prevention, let the tables speak. This shows marked advance in fire protection.

3. The increase in the number of dressing rooms is indicated by the reduction from 79 per cent of shops with no dressing rooms in the first inspection, to 58 per cent in the second and 34 per cent in the third.

And progress in protecting the worker from eye-strain is shown in the fact that the shops unprotected from glare have been reduced from 83 per cent in the first inspection to 72 per cent in the second and 51 per cent in the third.

These and other facts in the tables indicate gratifying advance in the sanitary conditions of shops.

But most significant and reassuring is the statement that 25,336 persons, or 51 per cent of the workers, are employed in shops having our sanitary certificate. This means that over one-half of the workers in our industry work in factories in which the standards of the board are complied with.

The sanitary sore spots of the industry are to be found in the small shops located chiefly on the lower East Side. Some progress has been made there,

especially through the efforts of the board's inspectors in recent weeks, but only the surface has been slightly scratched.

The observations and suggestions of Miss Schneiderman in her impressions, published in this bulletin, are so sound that we need only give our unqualified assent to what she has so ably pointed out.

The supreme test of the board's efficiency will be the gains made in the sanitary improvement of these smaller shops. Our efforts to push the work with vigor where it is most needed will not be abated, but we cannot repeat too often that we must receive the cooperation of the workers and employers in these shops, many of whom are still blindly indifferent to the need of well-ventilated, well-lighted and sanitary surroundings in the factory.

Through the organization of the sanitary shop committees, the lectures and, if need be, the sanitary strikes, we shall continue our crusade.

In the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, the method of the protocol, of representative industrial government has been justified by its fruits, and with future experience, this instrument of collective industrial effort will bring even richer results in approximating industrial justice for those engaged in the industry in the future.

This bulletin was published in May, 1912. Since that time the board has issued 501 sanitary certificates, which means that 30,201 workers, or 60 per cent of the workers, are now employed in shops which have complied with the board's standards.

Gratifying as is the progress here indicated, permanent sanitary control cannot be established until the board can assure the consumers that the garments they purchase were made under sanitary conditions. The certification of a Broadway establishment does not prevent the owner from having the largest number of his garments made in the filthy shops of his contractors or sub-manufacturers. They may be shipped from the sanitary factories but made elsewhere under more unwholesome conditions.

Some of the manufacturers in the association appreciate this responsibility, and have forced their contractors to comply with the standards of the board, but a comprehensive control of the garments manufactured in the industry by all classes of manufacturers will only be effected when the consumers are alive to their responsibility and cooperate with the board which represents workers, the manufacturers and the public, by purchasing garments manufactured in protocol shops. Through the device of the label issued by the board and attached to the garment, the consumer is assured that the cloak purchased was made in a shop where the laborers were not overworked by long hours or exploited by low wages or devitalized

by inhuman conditions of labor. A protocol label issued by the board would guarantee union conditions, for a protocol shop is one where union conditions, wages, and sanitary surroundings prevail. It may prove more effective than a union label. It is a responsible certification to the entire community by their representatives, in conjunction with the organized workers and organized employers, that the garments they purchased were made in factories where fair play to the workers and to purchasers was observed. It is not visionary to conceive that the revenue derived from the purchase of the labels by the manufacturers would be sufficiently large to cover an extensive advertising campaign, by which an effective appeal could be made to the consuming public to patronize the protocol shops. This represents one of the effective methods of realizing the demands of the employer for equalizing conditions of competition, and of the workers for creating uniformity in the terms of labor. The protocol label is still an aspiration. With the light of experience derived from further experiment with the protocol, this aspiration may become a reality.